

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3071

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, UR,XF

SUBJECT: EASTERN EUROPE AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY. FORM, TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF SPEECHES BY EAST

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EUROPEAN LEADERS AT SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS FEB 25 AND 26

PROVIDE ALMOST GRAPHIC DEMONSTRATION OF DISTINCTIONS, DIVERGENCES AND DISPARITIES WITHIN THE EUROPEAN WING OF THE SOVIET UNION'S "SOCIALIST CAMP." IN GENERAL, EE COUNTRIES DIVIDED INTO THOSE VYING FOR SOVIET FAVOR ON BILATERAL BASIS AND THE TWO, POLAND AND ROMANIA, WHO APPARENTLY FEEL STRONG ENOUGH TO STEP FORWARD IN MOSCOW AS ALLIES FOR BETTER--IN POLAND'S CASE--OR FOR WORSE--IN ROMANIA'S. ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA, WHICH POLAND AND ROMANIA DID NOT MENTION AND THE OTHERS CONDEMNED, IS MOST OBVIOUS TEST. END SUMMARY.

2. INTERNATIONALLY, THE SECOND AND THIRD DAYS OF THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS FEB 25 AND 26 WERE THE DAYS OF THE "ADVANCED POSTS OF SOCIALISM" IN THE WORLD. FEB 25 SAW THE LEADERS OF THE CORE COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE--GIEREK, HONECKER AND HUSAK--BRACKETING THE MOST BRILLIANT OF THE NEWER ARRIVALS ON THE MARCHES, LE DUAN AND CASTRO, IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE. ON FEB 26 THE EAST EUROPEAN SECOND STRING FROM THE BALKANS--KADAR, ZHIVKOV AND CEAUSESCU--TOOK THEIR PLACES AMONG VERY OLD OR VERY NEW FACES IN EUROPE AND ASIA: CUNHAL OF PORTUGAL, KAYSONE OF LAOS, TSEDENBAL OF MONGOLIA. FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY FINE TUNING WITHIN THE EUROPEAN "SOCIALIST COMMUNISM," IT MAY BE INSTRUCTIVE TO JUXTAPOSE THE SPEECHES FROM THE EAST EUROPEAN NORTHER TIER FEB 25, ON THE ONE HAND, AND FROM THE BALKANS FEB 26 ON THE OTHER, AS THEY APPEARED IN PRAVDA NEXT DAY.

3. TO BEGIN WITH THE FORMALITIES OF NORTHEAST EUROPEAN PRESENTATIONS, GIEREK SPOKE FIRST AND LONGEST OF THE THREE, AS LONG AS LE DUAN AND CASTRO, WHO FOLLOWED HIM, AND ALTHOUGH HONECKER SPOKE SLIGHTLY LONGER THAN HUSAK, BOTH WERE CLEARLY IN A DIFFERENT CATEGORY. GIEREK WAS ALSO THE ONLY ONE OF THE FIVE THAT DAY TO RATE AN EXTRA "PROLONGED APPLAUSE" (WHEN HE MENTIONED THE POLES' "DEEP RESPECT AND SINCERE SYMPATHY" FOR BREZHNEV) IN ADDITION TO THE "STORMY, PROLONGED APPLAUSE" THEY ALL GOT AT THE END. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WAS THE LEAST APPLAUDED (WITH 15 OUTBURSTS), NOT JUST IN COM-  
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PARISON WITH THE GUESTS FROM THE TROPICS (23 FOR LE DUAN AND 29 FOR CASTRO) BUT ALSO IN COMPARISON WITH HIS WESTERN (20) AND SOUTHERN (19) NEIGHBORS.

4. READING THE SPEECHES, IT IS NOT HARD TO SEE WHY. HONECKER AND HUSAK DELIVERED STRAIGHT PAEANS OF PRAISE FOR THE FIDELITY TO THE USSR AND CPSU, STRESSING BILATERAL TIES. TO BE SURE, THERE WERE INTERESTING

DISTINCTIONS. IN TONE, HONECKER WAS MORE VIGOROUS AND SHAMELESS, HUSAK BLANDER AND MORE DEFENSIVE. ALTHOUGH BOTH ADOPTED THE "SCHOLARLY" STRESS OF MARXISM-LENINISM WHICH HAD MARKED THE CONCLUDING SECTION OF HREZHNEV'S REPORT THE DAY BEFORE, HONECKER TROD HARD ON THE "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" PEDAL, AND HUSAK DID NOT MENTION IT BY NAME. AS ALLIES BOUND TO DEFEND ALL SOVIET FRONTIERS BY TREATY, BOTH ATTACKED THE CHINESE, BUT UNLIKE HONECKER, HUSAK EXTENDED HIS ATTACK TO "MAOISM AND ALL FORMS OF OPPORTUNISM," TO "OPPORTUNIST, REVISIONIST AND NATIONALIST" INFLUENCES. HONECKER MENTIONED THE EUROPEAN AND WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCES; HUSAK DID NOT. HUSAK'S VERY EARLY MENTION OF CZECHOSLOVAK ACCOMPLISHMENTS WAS PACIFICATORY, HONECKER'S LATE REFERENCE TO GDR ACHIEVEMENTS AND PLANS HUCKSTERING. HONECKER REFERRED TO HIS OCT 7, 1975, TREATY WITH THE USSR---A NOTABLE OMISSION IN BREZHNEV'S REPORT THE PREVIOUS DAY--WHILE HUSAK LET HIS OWN 1970 TREATY LIE. IN THE MAIN, HOWEVER, THEY COMPETED FOR SOVIET FAVOR ON THE BASIS OF BILATERAL FIDELITY: BOTH ATTACKED THE CHINESE, NEITHER MENTIONED EITHER CEMA OR THE WARSAW PACT BY NAME.

5. GIEREK, OF COURSE, ALSO SAID MOST OF THE RIGHT THINGS, INCLUDING SOME OF THE SAME THINGS. NOTABLY, HE TOO PROMOTED THE EUROPEAN AND WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCES. HE TOO WAS LAVISH IN PRAISE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIET PARTY. BUT THE WHOLE CAST OF THE SPEECH WAS DIFFERENT: GIEREK SPOKE AS THE SOCIALIST CHIEF OF THE POLISH STATE, RATHER THAN AS A PARTY CHIEFTAIN WHO ALSO HAPPENS TO BE RUNNING A COUNTRY. HIS STRESS WAS ON THE AMALGAM OF SOCIALIST AND NATIONAL INTERESTS AND TRADITIONS THE POLES CLAIM TO HAVE

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ACHIEVED, AND ON POLAND'S CONTRIBUTION (TOGETHER WITH THE SOVIET UNION) TO BUILDING SOCIALISM AND SECURING WORLD PEACE. TO STRETCH A METAPHOR, DETENTE RAN LIKE A RED THREAD THROUGH GIEREK'S REMARKS; EVEN THE REFERENCE TO THE WARSAW PACT MADE IT A BASIS FOR DETENTE RATHER THAN AN ORGAN OF SOCIALIST DEFENSE, AND IT WAS PRECEDED BY EVEN MORE FAVORABLE MENTION OF CEMA AND ITS BENEFITS FOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT "OF EACH" MEMBER STATE, HE WAS THE ONLY EAST EUROPEAN SPEAKER TO GIVE SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HONORABLE MENTION, AND HE WAS ALONE WITH ZHIVKOV (OF ALL PEOPLE) IN REFERRING TO THE PART "SOBERMINDED" WESTERNERS HAVE PLAYED IN MAKING DETENTE POSSIBLE. THERE WAS ALMOST NO IDEOLOGY; THE ONE PASSING REFERENCE TO "INTERNATIONALISM" WAS NOT QUALIFIED; THERE WERE NO

ATTACKS ON THE CHINESE (WHOM THE POLES ARE NOT OBLIGED BY TREATY TO FIGHT). BEYOND SUPPORT FOR THE EUROPEAN AND WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCES, THE ONE SPARKY PASSAGE ON THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT WAS THE DIRECT STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR "COMMON ACTION WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS," MATCHED (IN THE EAST EUROPEAN SPEECHES) ONLY BY CEAUSESCU'S CALL FOR "EXPANSION OF COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY WITH SOCIALIST AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES" THE NEXT DAY. ALTOGETHER, GIEREK GAVE AN IMPRESSIVE AND DISTINCTIVE PERFORMANCE.

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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 SAJ-01 /084 W

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R 271639Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 577

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN UNN

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

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6. LIKE THE BALKANS (AND THE SOVIET POSITION THERE), THE SPEECHES BY SOUTHEASTERN EUROPEAN LEADERS NEXT DAY WERE EVEN MORE DIVERSE. PRAVDA GAVE THEM EQUAL SPACE, TOGETHER AND WITH CUNHAL, KAYSONE AND TSEDENBAL, BUT THERE THE UNIFORMITY ENDS, EVEN FORMALLY. KADAR, THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FIRST SPEAKER, WAS APPLAUDED 19 TIMES; ZHIVKOV, WHO FOLLOWED, 25; CEAUSESCU, WHO WAS PUT BEHIND CUNHAL BUT BEFORE THE TWO ASIAN LEADERS, ONLY 10. LIKE GIEREK BUT UNLIKE CEAUSESCU, BOTH KADAR AND ZHIVKOV WERE GIVEN AN EXTRA "PROLONGED APPLAUSE" FOR PRAISING BREZHNEV PERSONALLY. BUT THE VARIETY OF THESE PRESENTATIONS IS ALSO STRIKING WITH REGARD TO TONE AND SUBSTANCE.

7. LIKE GIEREK, KADAR INSISTED ON HIS LOCAL AMALGAM OF SOCIALIST AND NATIONAL INTERESTS AND TRADITIONS, BUT UNLIKE GIEREK HE DRESSED IT IN PRIMARILY IDEOLOGICAL TERMS, AS A MARRIAGE OF "SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM," AND HE BELABORED PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM EVEN HARDER THEN HONECKER, THE NEXT COMPETITOR. HE GAVE MUCH MORE EXTENSIVE ATTENTION TO SPECIFIC INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THAN ANY OTHER EAST EUROPEAN EXCEPT CEAUSESCU, AND IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, ALONG FAMILIAR SOVIET LINES. HE ATTACKED MAOISM AND SUPPORTED THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, THOUGH IN SOMEWHAT ELLIPTICAL TERMS. HIS PRIMARY CONCERNS, HOWEVER, CAME EARLY AND CLEARLY. WITH THE SOVIETS, HE SAID, THE HUNGARIANS HAVE CREATED A HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC "WHICH IS THE ESSENTIAL FATHERLAND, THE FAMILY HOUSE OF EACH OF ITS CITIZENS;" HUNGARY WANTS "MANY-SIDED COOPERATION AND COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" AS A GUARANTEE OF "SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE"; AND IT NEEDS ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WITHIN CEMA AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE USSR, TO ACCOMPLISH THE "GREAT TASKS WHICH MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED" IN VIEW OF THE "WEAK FACETS" WHICH STILL REMAIN. IN SUM, KADAR APPEARED TO BE RENEWING HUNGARIAN COMMITMENT TO THE TRADE-OFF BETWEEN FOREIGN POLICY FIDELITY, ON THE ONE HAND, AND DOMESTIC AUTONOMY AND SOVIET ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ON THE OTHER.

8. ZHIVKOV APPEARED TO HAVE NO SUCH CONCERNS; CERTAINLY THEY DID NOT SHOW IN HIS SPEECH, WHICH READS LIKE A

LONGER VERSION OF HONECKER'S, RETOOLED TO MAKE IT SHARPER AND EVEN MORE BILATERAL IN THRUST. THE INTERNATIONAL REFERENCES INCLUDE BARBS AT ISRAEL, THE CONFIDENTIAL

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"FREE" PRESS AND "FREE" RADIO STATIONS, AND THE CHINESE, AND THERE IS ALSO FAVORABLE MENTION OF THE SOVIET "PEACE PROGRAM", MAKING DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE, "REALISTICALLY THINKING POLITICAL ACTIVISTS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES," AND EVEN "THE SUCCESSES OF THE NATIONAL COMMUNIST DETACHMENTS FROM THE TIME OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO TODAY." BUT THESE INTERNATIONAL PASSAGES ARE RARE IN A SPEECH OVERWHELMINGLY DEVOTED TO THE STRENGTH AND VITALITY OF SOVIET-BULGARIAN TIES. THE WARSAW PACT AND CEMA ARE DISMISSED IN A SINGLE SENTENCE, AND THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE EUROPEAN OR WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCES. ZHIVKOV GOES FURTHER THAN ANY OTHER EAST EUROPEAN LEADER AT THIS CONGRESS WHEN HE QUOTES DIMITROV'S STATEMENT THAT THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION IS THE TOUCHSTONE OF REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AND INTERNATIONALISM, AND WHEN HE PROCLAIMS THAT A BULGARIAN'S LOVE FOR BULGARIA AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE INSEPARABLE, "ONE LOVE, ONE LIKE OUR COMMON GOAL, LIKE OUR UNITED GREAT AND GLORIOUS PATH."

9. CEAUSESCU WAS PLACED LAST, JUST BEFORE THE ASIANS, AND RECEIVED MUCH THE LEAST APPLAUSE. EMBASSY BUCHAREST MAY WISH TO COMMENT, BUT FROM MOSCOW IT APPEARS THAT HE DELIVERED A SHORT COURSE ON ROMANIAN POSITIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD WITH ALMOST NO ATTEMPT TO SOFTEN HIS POINTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS SULLEN AUDIENCE. AT THE BEGINNING THERE WAS PRAISE FOR SOVIET ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS, AND AT THE END THERE WAS A PLEDGE TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND ROMANIAN STATES AND PARTIES. IN THE MIDDLE THERE WAS MENTION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM (WHICH WAS APPLAUDED) AND THE REMINDER THAT THE ROMANIANS HAVE GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION TO "RAISING AND PERFECTING THE PARTY'S ROLE IN DIRECTING SOCIETY." OTHERWISE CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS WERE A LECTURE ON INDEPENDENT ROMANIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND GOALS, INTO WHICH HE MANAGED IN A REMARKABLY BRIEF COMPASS TO FIT THE FAMILIAR ROMANIAN PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, MORE DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE, GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS TO TURN IT INTO A ZONE OF PRODUCTIVE

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COOPERATION FREE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS, "SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN NATION'S PROBLEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS LEGITIMATE INTERESTS," EXPANDING RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, COMMUNIST PARTY INDEPENDENCE, AND, AS NOTED EARLIER, COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS OF ALMOST EVERY STRIPE. ALTHOUGH CEMA WAS MENTIONED, THE WARSAW PACT WAS NOT, AND NATURALLY THERE WAS NOT A WORD ABOUT CHINA.

10. THE EUROPEAN "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY" DISPLAYED AT THE SOVIET CONGRESS SO FAR IS THUS A COMMUNITY IN CONSIDERABLE DISARRAY. THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS THE "TOUCHSTONE" OF EACH COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION, BUT THE CONGRESS CLEARLY SHOWS THAT THE INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE PROFOUNDLY DISSIMILAR FROM EACH OTHER IN EVERY CASE.

JUDGING FROM WHAT THEIR LEADERS SAID, BULGARIA, EAST GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ARE STILL VYING FOR SOVIET FAVOR IN A BILATERAL MODE AND ON THE BASIS OF SUPERIOR ALL-AROUND FIDELITY, WHILE HUNGARY IS STILL COUNTING ON SOVIET ASSENT TO CONTINUING ITS OWN BRAND OF SOCIALISM-CUM-PATRIOTISM, AND TO SOVIET ECONOMIC SUPPORT, IN RETURN FOR FIDELITY IN FOREIGN POLICY. OUTSIDE THIS SCRAMBLE ARE POLAND, STRONG ENOUGH TO BE A GOOD ALLY, AND ROMANIA, STRONG (AND BRAVE) ENOUGH TO STAND ALONE AND TWEAK THE LION IN HIS OWN DEN. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT THE ISSUE WHICH DIVIDES THESE TWO GROUPS BEST IN THESE SPEECHES IS THE APPROACH TO CHINA, BUT THE OTHER FAULT LINE WHICH RUNS BETWEEN THEM IS WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS OF THEIR OWN.

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